

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 235766

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ATTN CAMERON HUME

FOLLOWING REPEAT USNATO 5250 ACTION SECSTATE SECDEF INFO USIA AND  
COPENHAGEN 25 SEP 75

QUOTE

UNCLAS USNATO 5250

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, OCON, DA

SUBJECT: SPEECH OF NATO SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS BEFORE NORTH

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, COPENHAGEN, SEPTEMBER 25, 1975

FOLLOWING IS ADVANCE TEXT OF SPEECH GIVEN BY NATO SECRETARY GENERAL  
JOSEPH LUNS BEFORE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY IN COPENHAGEN MORNING OF  
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26 (NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN SAYS THAT SOME  
MINOR CHANGES MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE IN ACTUAL DELIVERY):

BEGIN TEXT

THIS ANNUAL EVENT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO ME AND I  
AM HAPPY TO BE ABLE TO BE WITH YOU ALL IN THIS ASSEMBLY ONCE  
AGAIN. I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY PERSONAL GRATITUDE TO OUR  
DANISH HOSTS WHO HAVE INVITED US TO THEIR BEAUTIFUL CITY AND  
TREATED US WITH SUCH HOSPITALITY.

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 235766

I DOUBT WHETHER THERE ARE MANY AMONG THOSE OF YOU  
HERE TODAY-THOUGHT I WOULD NOT BE SO CONFIDENT OF SOME OTHER  
AUDIENCES I HAVE FACED-WHO WOULD CHALLENGE THE PROPOSITION  
THAT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A RELAXATION OF TENSION NEED TO BE  
UNDERTAKEN FROM A BASIS OF STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY. AS BURKE  
SAID TWO CENTURIES AGO: "THE CONCESSIONS OF THE WEAK ARE THE  
CONCESSIONS OF FEAR".

THIS APPROACH IS REFLECTED IN THE EMPHASIS WHICH  
HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY PLACED ON THE ALLIANCE AS A STABILIZING  
FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION  
OF DETENTE AND PEACE. THIS ROLE WAS UNDERLINED ONCE AGAIN  
AT THE MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE  
ALLIANCE IN MAY. AND IT WAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASISED BY WESTERN  
LEADERS AT THE CSCE SUMMIT IN HELSINKI.

WE CAN ONLY NEGOTIATE WITH CONFIDENCE WHEN WE  
NEGOTIATE FROM A SATISFACTORY BALANCE OF FORCES. THE  
CREDIBILITY OF THE ALLIANCE, IN TERMS OF MILITARY POWER, TO  
DETER AND DEFEND IS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN EUROPE. THE SECOND CONDITION IS  
THAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SPEAK WITH A CONSISTENT  
VOICE IN ANY POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

THIS ASPECT OF THE ALLIANCE HAS RECENTLY BEEN GIVEN  
GREATER PROMINENCE AS A RESULT OF THE SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS  
WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN EUROPE DURING THE PAST YEAR AND  
WHICH WILL CONTINUE DURING THE COMING YEAR. THE HELSINKI  
SUMMIT OF THE CSCE IS A CASE IN POINT.

IT IS WORTH EMPHASISING THAT THE WESTERN LEADERS  
BY NO MEANS LEFT HELSINKI EMPTY-HANDED. DESPITE ALL ITS  
IMPERFECTIONS, THE FINAL ACT DOES CONTAIN SOME IMPORTANT  
EXPRESSIONS OF WESTERN PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES. THERE ARE  
THE PROVISIONS TO IMPROVE THE LIFE OF MANY ORDINARY PEOPLE  
BY FACILITATING THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND THE MARRIAGES  
OF CITIZENS OF DIFFERENT STATES. THERE IS THE AGREEMENT TO  
IMPROVE THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND PEOPLE BY GREATER  
POSSIBILITIES OF TRAVEL AND BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS FOR  
JOURNALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN. AND THERE IS THE RECOGNITION  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 235766

THAT WHILE FRONTIERS ARE INVIOABLE AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE,  
THEY CAN BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT.

THE INCLUSION OF SUCH PROVISIONS WAS ONLY WON AS  
THE RESULT OF THE FIRM COHESION MAINTAINED AMONG THE MEMBERS  
OF THE ALLIANCE TOGETHER WITH OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES  
THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

WESTERN LEADERS MADE CLEAR AT HELSINKI THAT IT WAS NOW UP TO ALL PARTICIPANTS TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT FULLY. IT IS TRUE THAT THE AUSPICES HAVE NOT BEEN ENCOURAGING. THE EMPHASIS PLACED ON INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BY THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS SO FAR CONTINUED UNABATED, AS HAVE THE RESTRICTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. WE ARE TEMPTED TO SAY WITH REASON: "IT IS NOT USUALLY IN THE LANGUAGE OF EDICTS OR MANIFESTOS THAT WE SHOULD SEARCH FOR THE REAL CHARACTER OR THE SECRET MOTIVES OF PRINCES.". BUT, WHATEVER OUR DOUBTS ABOUT THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS, THIS SHOULD NOT DISCOURAGE US FROM CONTINUING TO PRESS FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS. THE ONUS IS NOW FIRMLY ON ALL GOVERNMENTS TO LIVE UP TO THEIR PROMISES.

WE IN THE ALLIANCE HAVE ALREADY SHOWN OUR READINESS TO PLAY OUR PART. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT, WE HAVE NOTIFIED ALL CSCE COUNTRIES OF A NUMBER OF MANOEUVRES TO BE HELD UNDER NATO AUSPICES THIS AUTUMN AND WE HAVE INVITED OBSERVERS TO SOME OF THEM. WE HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE NO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THESE GESTURES ARE A SIGN OF GOOD FAITH. INSTEAD, THERE HAS BEEN AN OUTCRY BY THE SOVIET PRESS THAT HOLDING THE MANOEUVRES IS NOT IN KEEPING WITH THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI, WHICH IS, OF COURSE, LUDICROUS. WE STILL HAVE NOT RECEIVED A SINGLE NOTIFICATION OR INVITATION TO SEND OBSERVERS FROM ONE EASTERN COUNTRY, EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE WARSAW PACT WILL BE HOLDING THEIR USUAL SERIES OF AUTUMN MANOEUVRES. NEVERTHELESS, WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT WE SHALL RECEIVE NOTIFICATIONS AND INVITATIONS FROM THE OTHER SIDE IN RESPONSE TO OUR OWN.

ONE VITAL CRITERION BY WHICH WE SHALL JUDGE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE AS A STEPPING-STONE IN THE LONG PROCESS OF A MEANINGFUL DETENTE WILL BE THE WILLINGNESS OF THE EAST  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 235766

TO REDUCE THE REAL CAUSES OF MILITARY TENSION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

THERE HAVE BEEN TWO YEARS OF PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA FOR MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, SO FAR NO SIGN OF EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE CAN BE DETECTED. THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES STILL ARE NOT WILLING TO ADMIT THAT THEIR LARGE SUPERIORITY IN GROUND FORCES AND, MORE ESPECIALLY, TANKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, IS THE MAIN THREATENING ELEMENT IN THE AREA. IT IS QUITE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES TO WHICH THEY ALSO SEEM TO SUBSCRIBE.

WE DO HOPE THAT IN THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAVE JUST STARTED, THE EASTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL FOLLOW-UP ON THEIR EARLIER INDICATIONS THAT PROGRESS IN MBFR COULD BE

EXPECTED ONLY AFTER CSCE WAS CONCLUDED. THERE ARE REALLY NO GROUNDS IN LOGIC OR IN EQUITY ON WHICH THE SOVIETS CAN RESIST THE WESTERN CONTENTION THAT THE FORCES OF BOTH EAST ANDHWEET WITHIN THE REDUCTION AREA SHOULD BE REDUCED TO A COMMON CEILING. THEY HAVE FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY CONVINCING JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR REJECTION OF THIS CEILING, OR, INDEED, ANY DATA OF THEIRHOWN ON THE SIZE OF THEIR FORCES. OF COURSE, A COMMON CEILING WILL REQUIRE LARGER REDUCTIONS ON THEIR SIDE THAN ON OURS, BECAUSE AT PRESENT THEY HAVE LARGER FORCES IN THE AREA. BUT,SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THIS SIMPLE PROPOSITION WILL BE THE REAL TEST OF WHETHER THEY ARE INSPIRED BY THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI OR NOT.

ANOTHER TEST OF THE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TO MILITARY DETENTE IN A MEANINGFUL WAY WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS.IT WOULD GREATLYENCOURAGE US TO BELIEVE THAT DETENTE INSOVIET STRATEGYIS NOT JUST ANOTHER FORM OF CONTINUATION OF INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, IF THE SOVIETS SHOWED THEMSELVES MORE WILLING TO AGREE TO STOP OR AT LEAST SLOW DOWN THE ENORMOUSLY COSTLY NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

IN THE CASE OF BOTH THESE SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE MACHINERY OF CONSULTATION WITHIN NATO HAS BEEN USED, NOT MERELY FOR THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, BUT ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THE VIEWS OF ALL ALLIES ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOOUNTY IN POLICY  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 235766

FORMULATION. IN THE CASE OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS,A GREAT DEAL OF HARD AND USEFUL WORK HAS BEEN DONE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE IN EVOLVING A COMMON NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR ALL THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. THIS HAS PROVED A REAL VALUE IN STRENGTHENING THE HAND OF OUR NEGOTIATORS.

BUT, THE SUCCESS OF ALL THESE EFFORTS OF CONSULTATION AND CO-ORDINATION COULD BE UNDERMINED BY UNILATERAL REDUCTION OF MILITARY FORCES BY INDIVIDUAL ALLIED COUNTRIES. WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONTINUING EFFORTS BY WARSAW PACT MEMBERS FOR BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS OF THEIR FORCES. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, ANY UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS OF FORCES BY MEMBER GOERNMENTS-EVEN IF THEY DO NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVE GROUND FORCES IN THE PROPOSED REDUCTION AREA-ARE BOUND TO UPSET THE OVERALL MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND THEREBY WEAKEN THE PROSPECTS OF DETENTE. FOR THIS REASON THE ALLIANCE HAS EXPRESSED ITS SERIOUS CONCERN AT THE REDUCTIONS OF FORCES RECENTLY UNDETAKEN BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES AND IS WATCHING WITH ANXIETY THE DEBATES OF "RESTRUCTURING" CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST WELCOMEHTHE FACT THAT

SOME COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WHICH, FOR ECONOMIC OR OTHER REASONS, ARE CONSIDERING A CUT IN THEIR MILITARY EXPENDITURE, HAVE AGREED TO POSTPONE SUCH DECISIONS UNTIL AFTER A SATISFACTORY MBFR AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED.

THE DAMAGING EFFECT OF ANY UNILATERAL CUTS WITHIN THE AREA COVERED BY THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY SERIOUS. ONLY IF ALL ALLIES TAKING PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ABIDE BY THE AGREED POLICY TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE ANY REDUCTIONS IN THEIR FORCES ARE UNDERTAKEN, CAN WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. ANY UNILATERAL CUTS, EVEN TAKEN IN THE GUISE OF A "RESTRUCTURING" OF FORCES, CAN ONLY BE DETRIMENTAL TO OUR COMMON PURPOSE. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE WISDOM OF GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS IN OUR CO WILL NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN.

IF, AS I BELIEVE, DETENTE CAN ONLY BE MAINTAINED BY CONTINUING VIGILANCE BASED ON STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY, THE PROSPECTS FOR DETENTE MUST BE HARMED BY ANY STRAINS IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 235766

COHESION OF THE ALLIANCE. ONE CAUSE FOR DEEP CONCERN IS THE DETERIORATION IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN FLANK OF THE ALLIANCE AS A RESULT OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. IT IS MOST REGRETTABLE FOR TWO NATO ALLIES TO BE DIVIDED IN THIS WAY. THE HARMFUL EFFECTS ARE FELT THROUGHOUT THE ALLIANCE. THE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED AND THIS WEAKENS THE SECURITY OF US ALL.

IN RECENT MONTH THE SITUATION HAS BEEN STILL FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE ARMS EMBARGO PLACED ON TURKEY. THIS EMBARGO HAS, OF COURSE, TO BE SEEN WITHIN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF THE RELATED PROBLEMS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. BUT, ITS EFFECT CAN BE CLEARLY JUDGED. THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. INDEED, I BELIEVE THAT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD FACILITATE A SOLUTION AND WOULD, THEREFORE, BE IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. THIS BELIEF IS SHARED BY THE GREATEST POSSIBLE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. THE MAIN RESULT OF THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN A YET MORE SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN FLANK OF THE ALLIANCE.

IT WAS MY GREAT CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE SOUTH-EASTERN FLANK WHICH LED ME TO VISIT WASHINGTON EARLIER THIS MONTH IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE PROBLEM WITH THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. I FELT THAT AS SECRETARY GENERAL I SHOULD DO WHAT I COULD TO REPAIR THE BREACH IN THE DEFENSIVE STRENGTHS OF THE ALLIANCE. THIS

WAS IN ANY CASE MY DUTY IN ACCORDANCE WITHING THE WATCHING BRIEF  
GIVEN TO ME BY THE COUNCIL. WHETHER MY MISSION HAS SUCCEEDED  
I DO NOT KNOW.

NATO IS SOMETIMES CRITICISED FOR NOT DOING MORE.  
I, MYSELF, WISH THAT IT COULD DO MORE. BUT, WE ARE AN  
ORGANIZATION OF SOVEREIGN STATES. IT IS THE TWO STATES MOST  
DIRECTLY CONCERNED, GREECE AND TURKEY, WHO DETERMINE WHAT ROLE  
THE ALLIANCE AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL CAN PLAY AND I DEEPLY  
REGRET THAT THIS ROLE HAS BEEN HPTERTO TOO SMALL. IT GOES  
WITHOUT SAYING THAT I PERSONALLY SHALL CONTINUE TO TAKE WHAT  
OPPORTUNITIES THERE ARE TO HELP TO RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT.  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 235766

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE IS ALSO DEPENDENT  
UPON A PROSPEROUS AND DEMOCRATIC PROTUGAL. A LARGE MAJORITY  
OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE HAVE MADE CLEAR THEIR WISH FOR A  
PLURALIST DEMOCRACY. I MUST STATE WITH ALL EMPHASIS THAT IT  
IS OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE THAT A  
SATISFACTORY OUTCOME IS FOUND TO THE PRESENT STILL FLUID  
SITUATION.

WE SHOULD NOT MINIMISE THE PROBLEMS OF THE ALLIANCE.  
BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, WE CAN TAKE HEART FROM THE ENCOURAGING  
EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ALTHOUGH THEY FALL OUTSIDE THE  
NATO AREA THEY ARE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO US. THE NEW  
AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAS CONSOLIDATED THE  
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE REGION. IT REPRESENTS A VICOTRY  
FOR THE FORCES OF MODERATION AND CONCILIATION IN THOSE TWO  
COUNTRIES. IT IS ALSO AN OUTSTANDING PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR  
DR. KISSINGER, WHOSE VISION AND NEGOTIATING SKILL MADE SUCCESS  
POSSIBLE. THE AREA REMAINS CLOUDED BY DANGERS AND UNCERTAINTY.  
BUT, THE AGREEMENT OPENS UP OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER ADVANCES  
TOWARDS A LASTING AND JUST PEACE, OPPORTUNITIES WHICH SHOULD  
NOT BE MISSED.

WE CAN ALSO TAKE HEART FROM THE VIGOUR OF THE  
UNDERLYING UNITY OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. THE REAFFIRMATION  
OF COMMITMENT TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY BY HEADS OF STATE  
AND GOVERNMENT AT THEIR MEETING IN MAY HAS NO MERE FORMALITY.  
IT DEMONSTRATED A REAL RESOLVE ON THE PART OF MEMBER  
GOVERNMENTS TO PRESERVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND  
RESTORE IT WHERE IMPAIRED. AND IT LAID TO REST THE DOUBTS  
WHICH HAD AT ONE TIME BEEN EXPRESSED ABOUT THE ATLANTIC  
DIMENSION OF THE ALLIANCE. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
HAS RE-AFFIRMED IN UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS HIS COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT  
TO THE DEFENCE OF WESTERN EUROPE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TREATY,  
A RE-AFFIRMATION WHICH ECHOED THE EARLIER DETERMINATION BY  
CONGRESS IN THE SAME SENSE. AND THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, FOR

THEIR PART, HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO MAKE THEIR PROPER CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMON DEFENCE BY MAINTAINING THEIR FORCES AT LEAST AT THEIR PRESENT LEVELS AND BY IMPROVING THEIR EFFICIENCY AND THUS TO HELP TO PRESERVE THE SECURITY OF ALL. THESE SHOULD NOT BE HOLLOW WORDS AND UNDERTAKINGS VOID OF REAL, TANGIBLE MEANING.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 235766

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC MUST REMAIN FIRM.

SOME COMMENTATORS HAVE CLAIMED THAT THE SUMMIT ACHIEVED LITTLE IN REAL TERMS AND, AS PROOF, POINT TO WHAT THEY SEE AS A GROWING INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE ALLIANCE. OF COURSE, THE SUMMIT LEFT A GOOD MANY PROBLEMS UNRESOLVED. WE COULD HARDLY EXPECT THEM ALL TO DISAPPEAR WITH THE WAVE OF A MAGIC WAND. SOME DUPLICATION OF FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE ALLIANCE IS INEVITABLE, AS ARE SOME DIVERGENCES OF VIEW. BUT, THESE PROBLEMS NEED NOT BE DISRUPTIVE. THEY CAN EQUALLY WELL PROVE CONSTRUCTIVE. A CONSTANT EFFORT OF CO-ORDINATION IS NECESSARY. IT IS UP TO THE MEMBERS OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONS TO USE AND, WHEN NECESSARY, ADAPT THE POLITICAL MACHINERY, SO THAT THERE IS TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION AMONG ALL ALLIANCE MEMBERS. I CERTAINLY WARMLY WELCOME THE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF MEMBERSHIP WHICH HAVE ABSORBED SO MUCH OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S ATTENTION. A STRONG COMMUNITY IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

I HAVE BEEN SHARING WITH YOU SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT A FEW ASPECTS OF THE ALLIANCE IN THIS CURRENT PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION TOWARDS RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE AT SUCH A TIME SHOULD BE A MAJOR THEME OF THE MESSAGE WHICH MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY CARRY TO THEIR LEGISLATURES AND CONSTITUENCIES.

IT IS A SUBJECT ON WHICH THERE IS SOME PUBLIC CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY. AT A TIME OF POLITICAL NEGOTIATION, THE POTENTIAL THREAT POSED BY THE STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET ARMED FORCES CAN EASILY BE OVERLOOKED. UNLESS THESE FACTS ARE EXPLAINED BY INFORMED OBSERVERS, LIKE YOURSELVES, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR PUBLIC OPINION TO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR CONTINUED MILITARY PREPAREDNESS BY OUR MEMBER GOVERNMENTS.

THE CURRENT PRESSURE FOR CUTS IN MILITARY FORCES IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF LACK OF COMPREHENSION OF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THE UNFAVOURABLE MILITARY BALANCE OF POWER. THE MILITARY FACTS OF LIFE NEED TO BE IMPRESSED AGAIN AND AGAIN

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 235766

ON THE PUBLIC MIND AND ON GOVERNMENTS.

IN THE SAME WAY THE PUBLIC SEES POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS  
TAKING PLACE WITH APPARENTLY LITTLE OR NO PARTICIPATION BY NATO.  
IT IS NOT EASY FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED TO  
APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT IT IS NATO'S STRENGTH, COHESION AND  
THE CONSTANT PROCESS OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES IN THE  
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WHICH MAKES THOSE NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE;  
NATO SOLIDARITY IS THE KEYSTONE TO AN EFFECTIVE WESTERN  
NEGOTIATING POSITION.

THIS IS WHERE YOU WHO ARE GATHERED HERE TODAY HAVE  
A KEY PART TO PLAY IN EDUCATING PUBLIC OPINION. IN ORDER FOR  
YOU TO DO THIS EFFECTIVELY, WE NEED TO HAVE CLOSE LINKS BETWEEN  
THIS ASSEMBLY AND NATO. I GIVE HIGH PRIORITY TO ACHIEVING  
THIS. WE HAVE, I THINK, SUCCEEDED IN EVOLVING EFFECTIVE MEANS  
OF MAINTAINING CLOSE CO-OPERATION AT SEVERAL LEVELS. YOU CAN  
ALWAYS COUNT ON MY SUPPORT FOR ANY FURTHER APPROPRIATE MEASURES  
TO STRENGTHEN OUR FRUITFUL CO-OPERATION.

IN SPREADING THE MESSAGE OF NATO'S ROLE IN A TIME  
OF DETENTE, YOU CAN NOT ONLY WARN OF THE DANGERS BY SPEAK  
WITH SOME CONFIDENCE OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS. DESPITE ALL THE  
DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE ORGANIZATION, THE ALLIANCE HAS  
PROVED THAT ITS STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY DO ENABLE MEMBER  
GOVERNMENTS TO RESPOND IN A FORTHRIGHT AND EFFECTIVE MANNER  
TO ANY OPPORTUNITIES WHICH EXIST TO TRY TO REMOVE THE BARRIERS  
WHICH DIVIDE EUROPE.

AND WE CAN CONTINUE TO STAND FIRM AS LONG AS WE DO  
NOT DEPRIVE OURSELVES OF THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH. THIS IS  
THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THAT GREAT CITIZEN OF DENMARK AND HERO  
OF CHILDREN EVERYWHERE, HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. IN HIS WORDS,  
WE MUST NOT PUT OURSELVES IN THE POSITION OF THE EMPEROR WHO  
WAS FOUND TO HAVE NO CLOTHES.

END TEXT

BRUCE

UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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